1879

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Public G.O. No. 542-43
dated: 9.4.1879

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GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

9th April 1879, No. 542.

Press Commissioner.

Read the following paper:—

No. 21. *From C. BERNARD, Esq., C.S.I., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department (Public), to the Acting Chief Secretary to Government, dated Fort William, 17th March* 1879, *No.* 636.

I am directed to invite attention to paragraph 4 of the annexed Resolution of the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner towards the Vernacular Press. In order that the Press Commissioner may be able to fulfil these duties, it is desirable that he should be allowed to communicate direct with the officer who reports on Vernacular Journals for the Government of Madras. And I am to request that, if His Grace the Governor in Council sees no objection, the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to communicate direct with the Press Commissioner to the Government of India, and may be permitted to comply with that officer's requests for information so far as may be conveniently possible.

2. I am at the same time to enclose, for submission to His Grace the Governor in Council, a letter from the Press Commissioner in which he asks to be allowed to obtain from the Reporter on Vernacular Papers a memorandum concerning every Vernacular journal published in the Madras Presidency, and also a short quarterly memorandum on the progress of each such journal hereafter. I am to say that the Government of India will be glad if in this matter the requirements of the Press Commissioner can be met.

3. The Press Commissioner has been authorised to address you in future direct, in case he may, in the discharge of his duties under the Resolution of the 7th February last, have occasion to submit any representation or remarks for the consideration of His Grace the Governor in Council.

ENCLOSURE No. 1.

Resolution of the Government of India, Foreign Department, Political, dated Fort William, 7th February 1879, No. 479 P.

Read—

Despatch, No. 124, dated 18th March 1878, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, proposing the appointment of Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., as the recognised medium between the Vernacular Press and the Government.

Despatch, No. 40, dated 15th August 1878, from the Secretary of State, sanctioning the arrangement.

Notification, No. 965-G, dated 9th April 1878, appointing Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., to be Press Commissioner with the Government of India.

During the past two years a part of Mr. Roper Lethbridge's time has been occupied, as a tentative measure, in communicating information to, and answering references from, the Anglo-Indian Press. Gradually some of the Anglo-Vernacular newspapers and a portion of the Vernacular Press has come within his operations. Mr. Lethbridge has had the assistance of the establishment marginally noted, which was, while the Press arrangements were still in the experimental stage, lent to him from the Private Secretary's Office.

	RS.
1 Head Clerk on	150 a-month.
1 Clerk	100 ,,
1 ,, ...	60 ,,
1 ,, ...	40 ,,
1 ,, ...	30 ,,
1 Duftree.	
4 Chuprassees.	
2 Night messengers.	
1 Sweeper.	

2. It is now desirable that the Press Commissioner should be enabled to undertake effectively what should be the most important part of his duty, namely, the establishment and conduct of relations between Government and the Vernacular Press. The Vernacular Press Act (IX of 1878) empowers the Local Government to take repressive measures against Vernacular journals which may transgress certain very wide canons of loyal conduct and of political criticism. The orders of the Government of India, approved by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, required that no repressive measures shall be instituted under Act IX of 1878, without the previous sanction of the Government of India in each case. It was observed on the Government of India despatch, cited in the preamble to this Resolution, that, "in order that the Government of India should be able to enforce the Act with judgment, and with a due regard for those rights of free thought and legitimate discussion which Her Majesty's Government have always jealously guarded, it is necessary for us to provide means whereby we may be kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press of India, with a view to exercising the necessary control, not only over the journals which come under the operation of the present Act, but also over the action of the local authorities through whom its provisions will be carried out. To judge accurately of any particular case that may be brought before us, we must have means of learning with certainty the character, status, and general behaviour of each vernacular newspaper." It will be a part of the business of the Press Commissioner to keep the Government of India informed of the character and tendencies of each important Vernacular journal, and to be the responsible adviser of the Government in its dealings with the Press under the new law. In the exercise of these functions the Press Commissioner will lay before the Government full (instead of abstract) translations of important articles which may possibly appear to infringe Act IX of 1878, or which may contain important criticism or suggestions, on the measures or proposals of the Government or its officers.

3. But it may be confidently hoped that active measures of repression towards the Native Press will be extremely rare. The Governor-General in Council is glad to acknowledge that the tone and attitude of the Vernacular journals has of late, and subject to a very few exceptions, been loyal to the British Government, and that loyalty has been very marked in articles concerning the present political complications on the North-West Frontier of India. That being so, the Governor-General in Council desires to take every legitimate means for helping the Vernacular Press of India to inform itself upon the measures and proposals of the Government, and upon the progress of such political events as can properly be made public. In the performance of this part of his functions, the Press Commissioner will be the "recognised medium between the Vernacular Press and the Government, whose duty it will be to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the legitimate wants and aspirations of the Press, to receive and reply to references or complaints from editors, and, in a word, to act as the referee of the Press in its communications with the Government."

4. In order that the Press Commissioner may properly discharge his duties, which have been described above, it will be necessary that he should be in close relations with the Government Translators, under the Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Punjab, and North-Western Provinces and Oudh Governments, who now prepare the weekly abstracts of Vernacular newspapers. The Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and the Punjab will therefore be asked to permit the establishment of such relations between the Press Commissioner and their Translators; and to authorise those officers to comply as far as may be possible with Mr. Roper Lethbridge's official or unofficial requests for full translations of articles, or for information and opinion regarding particular journals.

5. But it will often be necessary for the Press Commissioner to communicate direct with the Editors of Vernacular journals. It may at times be desirable to present full translations of articles at once for the information of the Governor-General in Council. And the Press Commissioner may often have occasion to furnish in vernacular languages information regarding the measures of Government, or political events. Unless information is given in the vernacular, it can hardly be expected always to reach the public for whom it may be intended. More especially will it be necessary to make vernacular *communiqués* on questions or measures which are still under deliberation, and regarding which it would be desirable to evoke free and intelligent criticism from the Native public.

6. The Press Commissioner must therefore be furnished with a small staff of well-educated Native Translators. For the present it will suffice if the following establishment, in addition to the clerks and servants shown at paragraph 1 of this Resolution, be sanctioned for the Press Commissioner's Office, namely—

	Per Mensem.
	Rs.
1 Précis Writer on Rupees 250..	250
1 Translator on Rupees 250	250
2 Translators on Rupees 150, rising by annual increments of Rupees 10 to Rupees 250 .. .. mean cost.	450
2 Munshis on Rupees 50, rising by Rupees 5 a-year to Rupees 70 .. .. „	130
Total ..	1,080
Add for English Office and servants as above	445
Add Office rent—	
Simla Rupees 750, Calcutta Rupees 100, say for whole year	100
Office contingencies	50
Total ..	1,675

This establishment is sanctioned with effect from the 18th September 1878; but the full strength will be entertained gradually only, as the business of the Press Commissioner increases, and the circle of his operations widens.

7. It will be necessary for the Press Commissioner to subscribe for a number of the English and Vernacular papers published in India. This is essential to enable him to carry out the duties of his office. The sum of Rupees 1,500 a-year is sanctioned for this purpose.

8. The Press Commissioner will continue, as heretofore, subordinate to the Foreign Department. As the supervision of the Vernacular Press is an important part of the duty of the Home Department, the Press Commissioner should communicate officially with, and receive orders from, the Home Department on all matters not falling within the cognisance of the Foreign Department, which are connected with the Vernacular Press. He will be authorised to attend upon, and communicate directly with, all officers and departments for the purpose of gaining information to be imparted to the Press.

No. 484 P.

Copy of the foregoing Resolution forwarded to the Home Department for information.

By Order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT, POLITICAL,
FORT WILLIAM, *7th February* 1879.

Secy. to the Govt. of India.

ENCLOSURE No. 2.

From C. E. BUCKLAND, Esq., Officiating Press Commissioner with the Government of India, to the Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated Calcutta, 7th March 1879, No. 62.

With reference to the fourth paragraph of the Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, No. 479 P., dated the 7th February 1879, on the subject of the duties of the Press Commissioner with the Government of India, I have the honor to request that, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, I may be furnished with certain information from the several Translators to the Government of Madras.

2. As the Government of India desires to be kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press of India, and to have the means of learning with certainty the character, status, and general behaviour of each vernacular newspaper, they have laid it down as a part of my business to keep them informed of the character and tendencies of each important Vernacular journal.

3. I would wish therefore to be favored with a statement from the Translators with the Madras Government, showing the names of all the Vernacular newspapers published in the Madras Presidency, and the names of the editor, publisher, and proprietor. At the same time, I would ask to be favored with a report of the character, status, general behaviour, and tendencies of each Vernacular newspaper, with any remarks that may be considered necessary to explain to me fully the opinion entertained of each journal. For facility of reference, it would be well that this statement should be sub-divided into the "more important" and "less important" journals.

4. If this report can be made at full length, in the first instance, it would be calculated to give the Government of India a good idea of the general tone of each Vernacular journal during the recent past; and, for the future, I would ask to be furnished with a quarterly report, commencing from the 1st April (*i.e.*, the first report to be due on 1st July), containing remarks on the conduct and general behaviour of each Vernacular journal during the preceding quarter of the year. It would not be necessary that these quarterly reports should be made at any considerable length, though, on the other hand, it would be desirable that they should not omit to notice any feature or article of importance.

5. As the sum sanctioned for my office for subscription to the Vernacular newspapers throughout India does not admit of my taking in all that are published, I should be glad if I could be informed which are considered the ten most important of those that are issued in the Madras Presidency, and again which ten are regarded as the next in importance, and if those in each set could be arranged in order. This would enable me to check the list of the journals for which at present I subscribe.

6. With the small staff of Translators attached to my office, I am in a position to watch a certain number of the Vernacular journals throughout India. I propose to arrange to subscribe for a certain number of the most important journals received by the Translators to the Madras Government, according to the lists with which I may be furnished as asked for in the foregoing paragraph.

7. To enable me to become thoroughly acquainted with the legitimate wants and aspirations of the press, as contemplated towards the end of paragraph 3 of the Foreign Department Resolution and, to advise the Government of India thereon, I should be glad to receive from the Translators to the Madras Government any remarks which they may think fit to make on this head in their quarterly returns.

8. If it could be managed, it would, I think, be of interest to the Government of India to be informed among what class of persons each Vernacular paper circulates, so that its influence, respectability, and status might be thereby gauged to some extent. And, if any Vernacular paper exhibits an unreasonable or persistent opposition to the measures of Government, I should be glad to be informed whether there are any private reasons which affect the attitude of the editor or proprietor.

9. In conclusion, I would express my obligations to His Excellency the Governor in Council if he would be so good as to direct the Translators to the Madras Government to furnish me with as complete a report as may be possible after the manner above indicated.

No. 21-A. *Minute by His Grace the Governor, dated 3rd April 1879.*

The letter of 17th March shows that there is an impression that we have an officer as "Reporter on Vernacular Journals."

It should be pointed out that there is no such officer here.

That the abstract reports on Vernacular Press received from the Translators are regularly submitted to Members of Council, read, and if anything appears to deserve notice a full translation of any sentence or paragraph is obtained, or such other inquiries as may be needed made.

To give effect to Government of India wishes it will be necessary that some officer be appointed as Reporter on the Vernacular Press, and as the strength of the Translators' offices in this Presidency remains as originally established, when Press examination was no part of their duty, and their ordinary duties have gradually largely increased until their strength is fully tasked, it will be necessary for the purpose of giving full translations instead of abstract reports of articles that these offices be at once strengthened, and it will be apparently necessary, having regard to the highly confidential nature of duties which will be entrusted to them, to add to the

Hindustani,
Malayalim,
Canarese,
Telugu,
Tamil

Translators at least one well-paid munshi and a writer; or, which may probably be a better arrangement, to appoint a Reporter on the Vernacular Press, with necessary Translators at Rupees 150 rising to Rupees 250, and necessary copyists.

This seems the best course, as the contemplated *communiqués* must receive immediate translation, or their value will be destroyed, and the regular Translators' offices are frequently under pressure to complete translations of Acts, Government of India Bills, &c., for insertion in Gazette, and other documents which will not admit of delay. This must be pointed out to Government of India, and their sanction asked in the reply to the provision of the necessary funds.

With such an arrangement there can be no reason why Government of India should not receive regularly and promptly the full translations they need, and their communications be promptly and regularly issued.

But it seems to me a very doubtful policy to add to the weight and importance of a non-uninfluential press, by making them in the eyes of the people the organs and the mouthpiece of the Supreme Government.

The effect of addressing *communiqués* to the various papers, of inspiring their articles, will inevitably be to give to the whole paper in the eyes of the people an authority and a weight which these journals do not now possess, and this will apply to all their articles.

The people will not discriminate between the inspired and the uninspired paragraphs.

Seditious effusions of an overheated brain will be considered as *ballons d'essai* put forth for some deep and hidden reason by the Sirkar.

I believe the true policy of a Government in connection with the Press to be to treat all alike, to repress sedition with a firm hand by the aid of the laws, to furnish all alike with facts of interest to the people, leaving the Press to utilize them as they like, but to stand aloof from anything like inspiration, and if it be necessary that explanation of any proposed Government measure be made, to do it openly and avowedly as a Government statement officially signed.

With these views I think we ought to represent to the Government of India, while assuring them of our readiness to do whatever they may desire, the slight importance of the vernacular journals of this Presidency in which moreover the Press Act is not in force, and suggest whether it be desirable to do more than place on the Editor's table information it is desired journals should have for use.

Apparently also it is intended that *communiqués* should pass direct to the journals without the knowledge of, or communication through, the Local Government. Such a course must materially lessen the influence of the Local Government with the people.

Twice already has this Government been placed in a false position by the communication to the Press unknown to them of matters affecting the administration.

Once when the Secretary of State's sanction to a proposed arrangement in the Educational Department was published in the newspapers, without being advised to this Government; and again when papers which were being discussed in confidence between this Government and Government of India preparatory to submission to the Secretary of State for decision were communicated to the Press in Madras, with liberty to use but not to quote, without the knowledge of this Government.

I think our answer should embody some remarks on these points, and should also state the circulation and names of the vernacular journals, so that the non-rendering of such facts may not be used as a basis for the measures proposed.

BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

No. 22. ORDER THEREON, 9th April 1879, No. 542.

Resolved that the following letter be despatched in reply.

(True Extract.)

C. G. MASTER,
Acting Chief Secretary.

Exd. J. Wright.

Govt. of 1879 Madras.

PUBLIC.

Dated April, 9th.

Issued

Recd. *Regd.*

G.O., 9th April 1879, No. 543.

APRIL.
Nos. 21—23.

Press Commissioner.—The Government of India addressed in reply to their letter communicating a Resolution respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner, and requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to correspond direct with that officer.

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PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

Press Commissioner.

No. 543.

FROM

C. G. MASTER, Esq.,
Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,
HOME DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter, No. 636, of 17th March 1879, communicating a Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner, and requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to correspond direct with that officer. The Resolution itself conveys the desire of the Government of India that the Translators to Government should comply with the Commissioner's requests, official or unofficial, for full translations of articles, or for information and opinion regarding particular journals; also that they should furnish to the local press translations of any *communiqués* which he may have occasion to make.

2. In reply His Grace the Governor in Council desires me to state that there is at present no such functionary in Madras as a Reporter on the Vernacular Press. No single officer could be found sufficiently conversant with five distinct languages, to report singly on the newspapers published in this Presidency. The duty of examining these newspapers is divided amongst the Government Translators in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, and Hindustani. It formed no part of their original functions, and the work entailed has already caused a severe strain on their petty establishments, which are altogether inadequate to the further additional work which the demands of the Press Commissioner on their time will create. Three Translators have at present each one munshi and one copyist; while the remaining two have one munshi and two copyists; it will be absolutely necessary if this Presidency, to which His Grace desires to remind the Government of India Act IX of 1878 has *not* been extended, is to come within the scope of the Press Commissioner's duties, as set forth in the letter under reply largely to raise the Translators' establishments both numerically and, with reference to the confidential character of their duties and of the papers to which they will have access, in pecuniary standing. This will entail a very considerable permanent outlay.

3. In conclusion I am to express the hope that the Government of India will recognise the propriety of this Government being kept regularly informed of all correspondence between the Press Commissioner and officers subordinate to them, together with all the Commissioner's *communiqués*.

4. A minute by His Grace the Governor accompanies this letter.

5. A list of the papers published in the Presidency, together with specimen copies, was submitted to the Government of India (Home) on the 8th March 1878, No. 407, Public Department.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

Fort St. George,
9th April 1879.

Acting Chief Secretary.

Minute by His Grace the Governor, dated 3rd April 1879.

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BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Exd. J. Wright.

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Regr. No.

HOME 1879 DEPT.

( )

From the Government of
Fort St. George.

Dated 9th April 1879.	*No.*
Issued	*Enclosures*
Recd.	*Spare copies*

D. No.	Progs.
L. No. 543.	No.

Press Commissioner.—Replying to letter from the Government of India, communicating a Resolution respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner, and requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to correspond direct with that officer.

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

MINUTE BY THE VICEROY.

In a despatch dated 9th June 1875 (No. 1683 P) the Secretary of State called attention to certain articles in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 23rd January 1875, the tendency of which was to justify the attempt to poison Colonel Phayre at Baroda; the latter of the two articles ending with the following singular peroration :—"To emasculate a nation that the Government may rule without trouble! Surely to poison an obscure Colonel is by far a lighter crime."

The Secretary of State, after commenting on the language of these articles, observed—"It seems to me that the unchecked dissemination among the Natives of articles of the character cited above cannot be allowed without danger to individuals, and to the interests of Government itself." He pointed out that Section 124 A of the Penal Code provided for the punishment of any one endeavouring to excite feelings of disaffection to the Government, but with a proviso that there is no punishable offence committed so long as the disapprobation which it is intended to excite is compatible with a disposition to render obedience to the lawful authority of Government, and to support its lawful authority against unlawful attempts to subvert or resist it. The despatch concluded by leaving it to the Government of India to decide whether the law should be brought to bear on such writings, and asked for an opinion on the subject. "In any event," Lord Salisbury added, "I direct Your Excellency's serious attention to the continued publication of this class of articles by a portion of the Native Press."

The Advocate General, on being consulted, stated that, in his opinion, the

articles in question were punishable under the section quoted, and were not protected by the proviso; but he seemed very doubtful whether a Native jury would convict, and whether the risk of failure did not outweigh any advantage to be gained by a prosecution.

This view was supported by the Government of India, who, in replying to the Secretary of State's despatch, observed—"Our conclusion is that, in the present state of the law, it is not desirable for the Government to prosecute except in the case of systematic attempts to excite hostility against the Government," and added—"The questions of the tone of the Native Press, of the condition of the law, and of the propriety of altering it, present very grave difficulties, and we propose to take another occasion of expressing our views upon them."

Attention has recently been again drawn to this subject by a speech which Mr. Eden made at a durbar held in Calcutta on the 12th of August, and in which he denounced in strong terms the actual disloyalty and sedition which are frequently to be found in the Native Press of Bengal. An extract from this speech will be found in the margin. He has again in a demi-official letter urged the subject on the attention of the Government of India in the following words:—"I do not believe that any country in the world would have stood such writing as we have allowed for the last ten years. Lord Northbrook took it up, and we all minuted on the subject; but there seemed to be a disinclination to move in the matter, and since then the Editors of the most seditious papers have been praised and flattered (by the Bengal Government) till they have become actually reckless. A strong expression of feeling from Government will put a stop to it, for there is no sympathy between the people and the Press. The whole of

"He had said that loyalty was with the Bengalee a matter of course, but he hoped that they would let him, as a friend, make one or two observations on this subject from a point of view which he believed seriously affected Bengalee interests. It was not uncommon to hear people, when speaking of the loyalty of Orientals, distinguish between what they called heart-loyalty and lip-loyalty, and the inference was sometimes sought to be drawn that the loyalty of the people of the country was more often the loyalty of profession than of feeling. The charge which His Honor had to bring against their countrymen was the very reverse of this. He believed that they were, in feeling, in aspirations, in community of interests, as loyal at heart as it was possible to be; but he saw, and saw with regret, that among a certain section of the community there was a growing tendency to criticise the work of Government and the intentions and actions of public officers in a spirit which was distinctly disloyal, and sometimes even seditions. He had, when defending the character of the Bengalee for loyalty and devotion to the British Government, been met, both in England and in India, with the enquiry as to how he could possibly reconcile the loyalty of the people with the seditions language of the Native Press. His explanation would at once, he was sure, be admitted by them to be correct, though he had not always found it so readily accepted as he could have wished. He had always said that the Vernacular Press in no way represented the feelings of the people. It was not in the hands of men of influence, or learning, or position, with a claim to be considered representatives of Native thought. It had no standing or influence in Native society; no one believed it; no one trusted it; no one was led by it. But admitting this to be correct, it was surely a national reproach that, with hundreds of thousands of young men of education and learning, the Vernacular Press, which might be made the means of teaching the people much good, and securing a good understanding between the rulers and the ruled, should have been allowed to sink into such hands. He had spoken of this at the risk of giving offence, because he knew that the character of the Vernacular Press was creating an unfavourable impression in many quarters of the loyalty of the Bengalee; and he wished to warn them of this mischief, and to point out to those whom Government had selected for distinction and honour on this occasion, and on other occasions, that it was their duty to remove this cause of national reproach."

each paper is generally written by some dismissed clerk or captious school-master. A change has already taken place in their tone since I spoke about it, and I think the Government of India might clench the matter by a despatch to all Local Governments, drawing attention to the matter and requesting that the character of the Press should form the subject of special reports from the Local Governments. They are frightened now, and it is well to keep up the raw. They preach rank sedition, and even talk of a war of independence—horrid rubbish no doubt—but rubbish we should not stand." In support of these assertions, Mr. Eden has sent up a series of extracts from Bengalee newspapers during the last eighteen months, some of which are appended to this paper, and which fully bear out his assertion.

Connected with this subject, and indeed inseparable from it, if the question of amending the law in regard to newspapers is to be considered, is Act XXV. of 1867.

The object of that law is to provide that some one shall be responsible to the law for everything that is printed and published. The law is often evaded, and the persons whose names are registered are frequently men of straw. It is stated, for instance, that the nominal Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is a student under 21. The enquiries in the case of *Halishuhur Patrika* in 1873 showed the registered proprietor of the Press to be a young student of the Hindoo College, and the registered printer and publisher was another student in the General Assembly's Institution. Another local paper* had for its registered printer and publisher a person employed as a printer on Rs. 25 a month in the office of another newspaper. It is obvious that the penalties provided by the Press Law, of Rs. 2,000 fine, or, in default, simple

* *Behar Herald.*

imprisonment, would, as against such men, be *brutum fulmen* ; and, if there are more substantial persons behind them, the law allows of their remaining hidden.

Now, the necessity for enforcing some responsibility on the printers and publishers of newspapers does not turn only, or even mainly, on the sedition and disaffection which they may excite. A more immediate, if not more serious, evil is the use made of the Native Press—

(1) as an instrument of extortion, whereby the owners levy blackmail from Chiefs, Rajahs, and other Natives whose position is sufficiently prominent to expose them to its attacks ;

(2) as a means of intimidating Native officials, Judges, Deputy Magistrates, Police officers, in the execution of their duty.

In the previous papers put up on this subject, I find a petition from one Akbar Khan, Populzai, of Cabul, complaining that the Native Press habitually slanders "the character of the innocent people, who cannot afford to satisfy their cupidity". They force people "to subscribe to their papers, and write against those who refuse to comply with their request". He proceeds to point out how the proprietors evade the law, and how useless against such men a decree for damages on an action for libel would be. He goes on to say—" Rajahs and Chiefs dread him, under the impression that he may write against them as he did against their compeers. They, therefore, subscribe to his newspaper, and assign an annual sum of money to him. The Editor calls over every year to each State, remains there for from 20 to 25 days, receives money, khilluts, and sumptuous meals, and comes back". His suggestion to remedy these defects is that, before a person be registered as proprietor of a newspaper, he be

required to deposit a sum of Rs. 10,000 as security.

A significant commentary on the above petition will be found in the following extract from the *Pioneer*, which refers to an obvious attempt of this kind started by a notorious swindler :—

TO THE EDITOR.

"SIR,—I trust that, at the price of giving it a free advertisement, you will afford publicity to the accompanying prospectus, which is being very industriously circulated throughout the Native States in Rajpootana. In the code of 'rules' accompanying, which I also forward for your edification, the public are informed that 'the capital required is (at least) Rs. 1,00,000,' and, further on, that this is required only for '*starting* the paper.' Again, 'the chief English Editor is to receive a salary, (after the first six months, during which he will take half) of not less than Rs. 1,000 per month,' as well as one-half the profits. To judge by the fact that the names of two Ministers of small Native States have been subsequently added to the printed rules (in writing) as 'Special Trustees' of this unique undertaking, the 'Originator' (with a capital 'O') is not without sympathisers or allies. May I suggest to the Governor General's Agent that his fold in Rajpootana are in danger of the wolf? It remains to add that the Originator has modestly omitted to publish his name, and given no hint of his antecedents—a double omission which I am in a position to supply. You are at liberty to hand up these particulars to any constituted authority who may betray an interest in the subject."

JEREMY DIDDLER.

"Tu Cole Justitiam ; teque atque alios manet ultor."

"The Maharajah."

"A weekly paper intended to represent in English and Urdu the opinions and desires of the ruling powers in the Native States of India, and of educated Indian gentlemen generally.

"All the usual news of the world will be given also.

"*One by one, each Native State, its power and resources and sights will be described, and a lithographed portrait of its reigning Prince and the chief nobles supplied.*

"*One of the Editors will visit yearly or half-yearly each Native State in turn.*

"*Edited by English gentlemen.*

"*Capital required Rs.* 1,00,000.

"Subscribers can have a copy in English or Urdu, or both. The English copy will be issued one week in advance of the Urdu copy. Annual subscription Rs. 50 and 100.

"The paper, it is hoped, will be published at Simla from 1st May 1877. The first or specimen copy has already been prepared.

"*The regular issues of this paper will commence as soon as the whole of the required capital is paid up. Each of the chief Princes of India is requested to give at least Rs.* 5,000 *(five thousand) towards the required capital.*

"*From the smaller States one or two thousand rupees only are asked for, or any sum the Rajah or the Nawab may be pleased to give.*

"The money thus given may be paid either directly to the Editor, or into the Punjab Bank, Lahore, to the name of the Editor's 'Maharajah Fund,' or into the London and Delhi Bank, Delhi, same

name, and 'Maharajah Fund'. Also into the Agra Bank, Agra, 'Maharajah Fund'.

Nor is there less evidence available as to the system of terrorism exercised over the Native officials. It is referred to in the above petition as being habitually practised by the Editor of a Lahore paper.

Sir G. Campbell, writing in 1873, endorsed the following extract from one of his most experienced Commissioners on the subject :—"There is, however, one aspect in which the present unbridled license of the Press is peculiarly injurious to Government, for it affects the feelings of its Native officers and subordinates to an extent which is palpably detrimental to the thoroughly upright and fearless discharge of their official functions. I fear that there is not a Native Deputy Magistrate in the country who could deny that he was afraid of becoming the subject of personal attack in a Native newspaper." * * * * * * "I know of scarcely any more exquisite, but certain, process of torture than that which begins with the publication of a scandalous attack on a public officer, and leads up to a call for explanation. Even if his explanation is accepted, he has gone through the ordeal, he has been mentally tortured, while his assailant has lurked in the darkness, and is beyond the reach of punishment. I say, without fear of contradiction, that this villainous misuse of the Public Press affects the whole of the administration of justice by Native officers, and that in the exceptional state of this country it is monstrous to allow a system of uncontrolled Press license to prevail, which is only suited (even if it is suited there) to nations in which independence and civilization are more thoroughly established."

Precisely the same complaint is made in the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Dacca, which was recently reviewed

by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in the *Calcutta Gazette*.

The recommendation made on the subject by the late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (Sir G. Campbell) was that there should be a law to punish summarily and severely, without all the *éclat* of a long prosecution, for sedition those who write and publish mischievous and seditious libels on the Government, and to shut up newspapers which are the vehicles of such language.

It is not to be expected that every one will take the same view as Sir G. Campbell of the best remedy to be applied; but it will probably be admitted that a case is made out for calling on the Government of India to fulfil their promise to Lord Salisbury, and take into consideration the necessity for an amendment of the law.

I am not prepared at the present stage of the case to lay down definitely what line legislation should take; but the following suggestions seem worthy of consideration:

(1.) As soon as a fitting opportunity offers, the explanation attached to Section 124 A of the Penal Code should be modified so as to throw a less impossible burthen on the prosecution in proving attempts to incite disaffection.

(2.) I should like to have it considered whether some such suggestion as that made by Akbar Khan for taking security from any person who proposes to register his name as proprietor of a Native Press is feasible; if so, it might be introduced as an amendment to Act XXV. of 1867.

(3.) Finally, I would suggest a substantive addition to that law, based on the Press Law now in force in Ireland. That law (33-34 Vic., Cap. 9, §§ 30 to 33) is simple and brief. It lays down that on the Government being satisfied that any newspaper contains seditious matter, or

incites to any form of felony (I would use the word disaffection following therein the Penal Code), the head of the Government may serve a notice on the proprietor to the effect that it does contain such matter, and calling attention to the provisions of the law. If, after the expiry of seven days (for weekly papers), and two days (for daily journals), from the receipt of such notice, the same paper, or any other paper published at the same Press, or by the same proprietor or printer, contains seditious matter, the Government may then confiscate all printing presses, plant and materials found on the premises.

Sections 31 and 32 contain powers for Government to issue search warrants and enter the premises of any such Press. Section 33 gives power to proprietors, aggrieved by the action of Government under this law, to maintain a suit for damages on account of illegal seizure or search within two months, and allows such action to be brought in any of Her Majesty's Superior Courts of Common Law at Dublin. Such a law, *mutatis mutandis* (*i. e.*, reading "Governor General in Council" for "Lord-Lieutenant", and "Court of the District Judge having jurisdiction" for "Superior Courts of Common Law at Dublin"), seems to me very applicable to the circumstances of this country, and in itself quite unobjectionable. A proposal similar to this was made last year, but was objected to by my late colleague Mr. Hobhouse, whose Minute is circulated herewith. His opinion is entitled to the greatest weight; but, in estimating the difficulty in which action under such a law would land the Government, he makes an important oversight. He assumes that, after warning a paper and confiscating its plant, the Government would be in no better position than before, as the aggrieved proprietor would bring his action, and Government would find it equally difficult to substantiate

its case before a jury as defendants in a civil suit, as to do so as prosecutor in a criminal action; but there is this difference—except in Calcutta, the civil suit would not go before a jury at all, but would be confined to the District Judge's Court; and, as a matter of fact, the great majority of Vernacular newspapers are published in the mofussil. The Government would have two advantages—

1st.—The proprietor would hesitate to throw good money after bad by bringing an action.

2nd.—It would be very much easier for Government to defend before a Judge its own action in having confiscated the Press, than to persuade a Native jury that a patriotic Editor deserves imprisonment.

The criminal penalty under the Penal Code, however, need not be abrogated; it would remain as an additional weapon in reserve for very flagrant cases indeed.

The real *crux* is, as pointed out by Mr. Hobhouse, the difficulty of drawing a distinction between the Native and the English Press. That there is a real distinction, everybody perfectly well knows and understands. The English Press, however vituperative and mischievous, addresses its attacks against the measures of individual Governors, or against the persons who compose the Government; it does not attack the supremacy of Her Majesty's Government, and, of course, has no desire to subvert it. The Native Press, however insignificant its attacks may be, is occasionally influenced, as the extracts in the Appendix show, by a desire, real or pretended, to subvert the English régime, and to substitute Native rulers; but this distinction, which is quite sufficiently marked to guide the Executive in practice, is not one which can be defined and formulated in a legal enactment. It seems to me

that, while the law can make no distinction, the difficulty may in practice be overcome by making the law applicable (like the Arms Act) only to such parts of India, and to such classes of newspapers as the Government may, by proclamation, see fit to extend it, and it need, in the first instance, be extended only to papers published in the Vernacular languages. It is only these that circulating among uneducated classes can do serious mischief. Sedition circulated in the English language appeals only to a small section of the people, who are of necessity tolerably educated and capable of judging of the value of such writing. It may gratify their taste, but it is not likely to mislead them into a foolish action.

I desire that this Minute, with the Appendix and the previous papers, may now be laid before the Hon'ble Members in charge of the Home and Legislative Departments, and may be circulated in the most confidential manner to the Local Governments for a very early expression of their opinion.

The Appendix, as now circulated, refers only to newspapers published in Bengal; but the Secretaries of the Home and Foreign Departments have been requested to prepare an additional Appendix of similar seditious extracts from the Newspapers published in other parts of India. These will be circulated as soon as they can be prepared; but as their preparation will take time, I have not thought it worth while on this account to delay the circulation of the present Minute; the Bengal Appendix furnishing sufficient illustration of the style of writing, to which I desire to call attention.

LYTTON.

22-10-77.

APPENDIX.

During the long period of about two hundred years, from the commencement of the Company's rule up to the present time, we have not witnessed any change in their behaviour towards us. Looking to the interests of men of their own race only, they hold the lives of the Natives in very light esteem. Who is there that does lament the sad case of Nundo Coomar, when he remembers the futile cause that was assigned and considered sufficient for executing him? And in these days wherever we turn our eyes we see dark oppression and injustice prevailing throughout India. The hostility of Government towards the Natives, and its favoritism to Englishmen, have become palpable in various instances. "Suhrid."

Whatever faults may disfigure the British character, the chief defect is a party spirit, which becomes more striking when contrasted with the rule of the Mahomedans, who never carried it to such an extent; and though there was no toleration under some of the Mogul Emperors, still there was not, as now, such an intense display of race partiality. Their feeling has wrapped their sense of justice, which is administered in one way to the British and in another to the Native. "Sadharani."

As a consequence of this selfish policy of the rulers, India is impoverished. She has no power. The Native princes are effete. While industry and commerce are ruined by British competition. This is a fruitful source of popular discontent.

The British Government has destroyed the respect and honour hitherto enjoyed by the respectable middle classes of the Hindoo society. A common constable now arrests a respectable zemindar. Such a state of things would have been impossible if the doors of the Civil Service were open to educated Natives of respectable parentage.

Justice is sold and denied to the poor. The expenses of litigation are heavy. What with the stamp fees and the pleader's fees and the peon's fees, and numerous other items of expense, a suitor is ruined; justice is also tardily administered.

But look to the feelings of the people. Almost all of them are unhappy and discontented. In the mofussil especially this dissatisfaction knows no bounds. Under the Mahomedans there was indeed much oppression. The will of the despotic emperors and their representatives was the law. The rights of the people and the claims of the subjects were all swept away by their avarice and sensuality. It is therefore asked why does there prevail so much dissatisfaction now when these evils no longer exist. We believe we were far more happy under the Mahomedans than at the present time. Only wealthy Hindoos, living in cities, were oppressed by the Mahomedan officers; but the current of that oppression did not reach the mofussil. The zemindars in the interior indeed were sometimes, on account of failure to pay the revenue, summoned before the Nawab and there punished and imprisoned, though they were as often released and rewarded for a witty saying or a well-timed act of flattery to the Nawab. The common people in the interior, however, had not much to suffer from Mahomedan oppression. They enjoyed much more freedom and security. But all that happiness has disappeared under the British Government. Injustice and oppression are now more extensively practised in the mofussil than anywhere else. There are at the present time police officers in every village, District Magistrates, Deputy Magistrates in Sub-Divisions, and Joint Magistrates. These have taken the place of the Nawabs and the Fouzdars of the Mahomedan days, whether a man be rich or poor, landlord or peasant, respectable or low, all are equally oppressed by them. Again, the subordinate officers of the police oppress the voiceless and starving poor more than the rich "Somoprokash."

and the respectable. Bribes sometimes, in the shape of rewards, often by force, are extorted from the people. Their families are constantly insulted and oppressed: quiet and inoffensive, the poor have not the courage to oppose or complain against them.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika."

7

We do not know whether we should be sorry or glad at the increasing oppressions of the officers in the mofussil. The natural law is that progress is oftentimes preceded by some great revolution, so it might happen that the outrages committed on the helpless Natives will ultimately result in their welfare and progress. Hitherto, however, it has tended to nothing but our degradation. It is doubtful whether one in a thousand in the mofussil will be found bold enough to resist the most oppressive and unjust measures of a Magistrate. Many tremble at his very name. Consequently no feeling of gladness can arise in our minds when we see oppressions prevail.

8

But there is a limit to everything : a reaction must take place, and, though we have become dispirited, and our whole frame trembles at the very name of a magisterial officer, still it is pleasant to know the latter cannot commit oppression on us with impunity; and though the Government has placed a thunderbolt in his hands, we endeavour to defend ourselves from its most terrible shock. This gives rise to some hope in our minds. It not unfrequently occurs that a man, even on the point of death, may survive ; so who can say that we will not yet be able to recover our energies ? Hence, when we hear of any oppression in the mofussil, these hopes are raised. But no good can come to a nation that depends entirely upon hopes and not on any active exertions. If we are really aggrieved by the oppressions of public officers, we ought to exert ourselves to take measures against them independent of Government. Disunion is the chief cause of our weakness. If we could but be united, even a Magistrate could not commit any further oppressions on us.

9

The policy of the British Government is to destroy our national life, and to keep us under their subjection for ever; for they know that they will not be able to do so by mere force of arms or by any other means. We are, however, now placed in a very delicate position, because, if we can preserve our national liveliness, we might most probably arise some day and win our liberty, but if we lose it we will be ruined for ever.

"Sahachur."

10

The people now feel that if England desires to retain a permanent footing in the Empire, it should make the Natives understand that they and their rulers have no separate interests, otherwise how can it expect to retain a permanent possession ? To say that no rights should be conferred on Natives, and that iron despotism should ever exist, is as much as to direct them to prepare for war ; for what nation on the face of the earth will consent to forego the rights that nature has conferred on them. They may be suppressed or kept in abeyance for a while by dint of force, but does it lie in the power of any to extinguish them altogether?

"Moorshedabad Pratidhuni."

11

There was formerly great unanimity between the two races: superior public officers mingled with the Natives and sympathized with them in their hardships. They were neither distrusted nor looked down upon. A change has, however, taken place in their relations towards one another. Bengalees no longer regard Englishmen as their freinds, and in every action are too ready to impugn their motives. But what has brought about this state of things? The Bengalees are what they were before, and the country was then, as it is now, governed by law. Then whence this dislike? this hatred? We believe that England regards India with the same feelings as before; nay from a longer acquaintance it takes a more lively interest in it at the present time. But all are not of this disposition. Most of those that come out here now come only for the purpose of making money, and are not better than beasts in human form. They attach little value to the life of a Native, and scarcely regard him as a human being. It is owing to the prevalence of such feelings that when a Native is murdered by a European, his death is attributed to a ruptured spleen or a diseased liver. On the other hand, a Native convicted of doing even a slight injury to a European is severely punished. This circumstance has greatly alienated the minds of Natives from the Europeans.

"Behar Bandu."

Englishmen, what though you be so powerful and fortunate, you cannot step over the regulated laws of nature; for you, too, will have to bow your heads before the force of that nature which guides the universe, and will have its command to take up the heated cauldron, after continuous glowing and puffing. If you have the manliness to disregard the rules of nature, do so, yet remember without that, that very rule of nature which you discard will turn as it were into a snake and sting you. Of what account is it, if the same flag flies over so many lands in different quarters of the globe. You cannot but be exposed to the law of nature, for she it is who has made you the lords and us the slaves—England the chief and India a beggar.

You Englishmen do not now trust the Hindustanees, and have, in consequence, attached away from them their arms and accoutrements, closed the doors of the army against them, and consider us low, because we have become weak, and despise us. We call the Ganges, the Godavery, the Himalayas, and Vindhyachal mountains to bear us witness that we are not guilty of vain boasting when we foretell the future and say that a day will come, and God willing it will come soon too, when the Hindustanees will have to be looked upon with more trust, and admitted into the army. When will God show us the day in which the people of Behar will be eligible as Captains of regiments, Colonels, and Generals.

We wish not to rebel and take by force from Government the above appointments; for we possess neither the nature nor the ability now so to do. If at any time our Biharis have rebelled and shown that they were heroes and had still a spark of independence left in them, of what avail is it since we have not the same Koer Singh nor the same independent Sontals? Englishmen! it is through your beneficence that we have become tractable as oxen and gentle as lambs; for when you deprived us of our arms and accoutrements, we quietly submitted; and what can we say now?

All warriors, both past and present, in entering the battle field have done so for one of the three following objects—for the sake of the country, for religion, or for wealth. Those who betook themselves to fight for their country are to be called men; those for religion, animals; whilst those who fight for money ought to be designated demons in human form; but neither of the above three motives has influenced our countrymen. If our heroes had had any thought of their country, India would not have fallen successively into the hands of the Mahomedans and the Mlechchhas; if of religion, then the Vedic creed would not have been supplanted by the Mahomedan and Christian; whilst, if they had made wealth their object, the Hindustanees would not have had to suffer as at present for want of food and clothing. It was only in consideration of the salt they ate of the Government they served that they, in the mutiny thirsted for the blood of their fellow-countrymen.

"Bishwa Dut."

It is observed by the same paper that there is a considerable difference noticeable between the acts and professions of the British Government. The heart is full of poison while the mouth emits nectar. In their hearts they do not intend to carry out what they have pledged themselves to do in their speeches and writings. While they profess to regard Natives and Europeans as equal, and in writing declare this to the world, at the moment when such equality might be expected to be set forth a distinction is made between them as wide as between heaven and earth.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika."

This is especially the case with Natives of Bengal who a century ago, disloyal to the Mahomedan Government of the day, gave over the kingdom to British rule. There cannot be, indeed, any doubt that in this the Hindoos showed a lamentable ignorance of their own interests; the more so, as the occasion was most favourable for subverting Mahomedan rule altogether, and regaining their independence.

"Samaj Durpun."

It is to be regretted that though this country has been for more than a hundred years under British rule, the Government has not yet learnt to make its administration really beneficial to the people. All its acts are marked by an idle parade, and that even while a strong current of disaffection runs through the internal strata of Native society.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika."

Considering the mutual inimical feelings that now exist between the rulers and ourselves, it might not in one way be led to submit to extinction. But the extinction of the Aryan race and that of the aborigines of America are not parallel cases. The extinction of the Aryan race will affect the creation of the God of Providence and be an unspeakable loss to the world, we will not say the loss could never be repaired, but certainly not easily, and the disgrace on the English race will be infinite. On the other hand, unless we make an effort to avoid such extinction, our sin too will be infinite. But either there must be extinction, or it will be necessary for us so to strengthen ourselves as to counteract the harsh measures of Government. We could not secure extinction even if we tried it, and our efforts would certainly not be less, they may be even greater than those we should have to make to counteract the harsh measures of Government.

"Bharot Mihir."

In a contributed article the writer states that nature seems to teach, and history shows, that no people can be ruled over except by a king of their own race. When for a time a nation has been subjected to a foreign power, it has been only temporarily, after the lapse of some years it has regained its independence, and been again ruled by its own king. Will the English consider us disloyal if sometimes we dream of independence in the future. They themselves were once a conquered race under Norman Kings.

"Amrita Bazar Patrika."

To what a distressed condition have the naturally haughty-spirited proud Mussulmans been reduced since the English took possession of India, and this fills their thoughts every moment of their lives. They have not been subject to foreign rule so long as the Hindoos. It was not very long since their victorious armies pushed everywhere like the strong current of the ocean, not so long since the English trembled before them, and therefore a state of subjection is to them much more galling than to the Hindoos, and their only strength and trust now is the Sultan of Turkey.

"Bharot Mihir."

The agitation which is now perceptible in Native society, and the attention which the Turkish war has excited in this country have their uses. They are calculated to teach us some important lessons. We have not yet forgotten the past history of India, nor do we believe that she will continue for ever in subjection. We see that even "China, Burmah and barbarous Japan are free and enjoy independence. They hate subjection. The present war also is due to nothing but this cause. When after much bloodshed and the endurance of extreme oppression and suffering, the Christian subjects of Bulgaria and Montenegro found they could not burst asunder the iron chain of Turkish bondage, Russia came to their aid. In the case of individuals the laws of the country punish the oppressor and the tyrant. And although, when, of two nations, the stronger oppresses the weaker, no direct punishment overtakes it, still it is certain that every act of oppression and injustice impairs its strength. God certainly never intended that one nation should lord it over another. For this reason oppressions must cease. Even if Russia be defeated in this war, and Bulgaria return to its subjection to the Turks, the latter must henceforth proceed more cautiously than ever in the work of administration. Unless Turkey introduces order into its government and respects the liberty of its subjects, it will sooner or later cease to be a European power. This war of independence has led us to reflect on our own condition, and on the fact that thousands of lives are being given up for this cause in Europe, and that, while in other countries people are ready to die for it, the Native of India shrinks with horror from the idea. The lesson will not be lost upon us.

"Bungo Hitaishi."

The editor tells the Native public that they are not to expect at the hands of Government the treatment which the ancient Hindoo kings accorded to their subjects. In the words of the poet they were like the sun which absorbs the moisture of the earth only to return it a thousandfold in the form of grateful showers. The contrary is the policy of the British Government. To benefit their own countrymen, they drain the wealth of this country, and it is for this that they govern India.

MINUTE by the Hon. Sir W. ROBINSON, K.C.S.I., dated 28th January 1878.

A proposal to limit a useful liberty which has been conceded, with enormous balance of social and political advantage, to our native fellow-subjects in India for well nigh half a century,—a liberty which is educating the people in freedom of thought and independence of character and is (Mr. Eden's dictum notwithstanding) highly valued by them—and to limit it with a distinction between English and Native newspapers and in a manner which can scarcely fail in practice to become very arbitrary is a matter for very serious consideration. After giving the subject much anxious thought, I must declare myself unable to advise it. The difficulties and risks seem to me grave, and the safeguards which we already have are, if not insufficiently appreciated, not applied as they might be.

2. In the first place, I am quite unable to endorse Mr. Eden's estimate of native public feeling in India towards their Vernacular Press. On the contrary, I believe that to a man, the intelligent, cultivated and influential classes—while deprecating its occasional vulgarity and extravagance—value their Vernacular Press and highly prize its liberty, for the same reasons which actuate their European fellow-subjects in the same interest; they do so under even stronger incentives and apprehensions than the latter. I am, therefore, satisfied that the hostile measures to which Mr. Eden would invite the Government and Legislature would only tend to extend and aggravate the disloyalty and alienation they are expected to mitigate; and while I can easily conceive circumstances under which this consensus of disapproval must, for a time, be firmly braved, I do not think that there is sufficient reason at this moment for challenging the strongly hostile feeling and distrust which would assuredly be evoked even in those minds which are best affected towards our Government and race. A strong feeling pervades the native mind that we are unfaithful to our pledge and principles; and I can conceive no measures more likely to confirm this impression than those which may be aimed at what the intelligent classes have already come to look on as a constitutional privilege.

3. Nor do I think that Mr. Eden rightly estimates the fidelity of the Vernacular Press—unreasonable though it often is—as an index of Native feeling and thought. Looked at from our point of view, its tone is natural, for the sympathy and appreciation of an Oriental people is probably beyond the reach of an alien bureau and foreign despotic Government; while its criticism—hostile as it often is—is generally precisely what is to be looked for under the circumstances, and rarely goes, in substance, beyond strong difference of opinion where such is quite reasonable. Inconvenient, therefore, though the extravagance and occasional want of loyalty evinced by the Vernacular Press may be, we possess in it a useful barometer of native feeling and sentiment; a barometer such as no menaced or sycophant Press could possibly continue to be. There is an appreciable safety in knowing the worst that even our discontented subjects are thinking of our measures and administration; and the experience of other countries (than England) to which Mr. Eden alludes, has shown that a restricted Press is no guarantee for the loyalty of their subject or dissatisfied nationalities. There are disadvantages—and grave ones—in having existing discontent and hostile criticism formulated and circulated amongst the people; but, on the whole, I think the balance of political advantage is in favor of an unmenaced Press even in India.

4. Serious objections present themselves to my mind to the proposal to treat differentially the English and Vernacular Press. The existing race-alienation—spreading and widening daily—is serious enough as it is; and I confess that I think that some of the low radical writing of England, *ex. gr.*, of the Bradlaugh School, which is read with avidity in South India, is doing far more material mischief than anything the Vernacular Press is diffusing. A compromise of principle here would, I am sure, have a very bad effect.

5. The proposals relate to two grounds of apprehension in respect to the Native Press—

(1) Corrupt abuse of the liberty of the Press for purposes of intimidation and the levy of black-mail in respect to private individuals, public officials, Native Princes, and the like; and,

(2) Its disloyal tone and spread of seditious sentiment.

6. Facts in regard to a small section of the Press of America and of our own Colonies—and even to some obscure prints in England—show that the Native Press of India is not alone obnoxious to the charge of occasional malicious and corrupt intimidation; but I am quite satisfied that the Law, as it stands, affords quite sufficient protection to persons who may be unjustifiably assailed, and the frequency with which trials for defamation appear on our judicial files, both criminal and civil, shows that there is no distrust of its administration. The same holds good of public officials; and possibly in India—where public opinion is wanting, public morality low, and corruption rife—the fear of the indigenous Press is not an unalloyed evil. Native Princes are more likely to subsidise the Native Press from sinister motives than to fear it. I think that any attempt to transfer the protection of persons of whatever class from offences of this class, from the legal tribunals to the executive would be most inexpedient. I do not myself believe that fear of the Press is at this moment deterring any class of public officials from doing their duty; and if it were, the remedy lies in leaving such persons to the education in courage which a free—albeit somewhat scurrilous—Press imparts. I would deprecate any alteration of the Press Law in this direction—even the exaction of security as proposed in this discussion. I have never heard of a case in which the responsible Editor when "wanted" could not be found. The demand of security would be felt to be a covert menace; it would interfere exceptionally with a fair industry but would not remove the man of straw in whose name the security would appear. I cannot read the summary of Sir George Campbell's advice recorded on page 8 of the Viceroy's Minute without feeling that the very existence of a Press worthy of the name—of a Press such as we require in this country as an exponent of Native feeling—is at stake. Formulate the words of Sir George Campbell's recommendation as an affirmative explanation to Section 124-A, give a procedure which removes what is termed "the eclat of a long prosecution," and place in the hands of a sensitive, irritable executive the power "to shut up newspapers" which it judges contain "mischievous and seditious libels on the Government," and you have a gagged, ruined, and sycophant Press, at once contemptible and useless, if not dangerous. Under such circumstance, the judicial tribunals of this country would scarcely be entitled to public confidence by their constitution while, on the other hand, we might occasionally witness an unseemly contest between the executive and its nominee on the bench.

7. As regards the proposal to introduce the provisions of the Irish Act—with, as I gather, some modifications in the direction of greater stringency—I do not think that the conditions of things, social and administrative, are sufficiently analogous to ensure equal safety and consideration. In Great Britain we have a public opinion such as is entirely wanting here; Irish Courts are presided over by Irish Judges aided by Irish Juries, while the executive is more immediately under the observation of Parliament in which Irish interests are fully represented. Every condition of this country presents a complete contrast as respects safeguards. Further—writing under correction—I believe that our law of sedition is more precise and stringent than that of Great Britain. On the whole I am satisfied that the conditions of this country present far greater danger to the reasonable liberty of the Press than the conditions of Ireland under similar legal restrictions. Warning and confiscation would practically mean suppression without hearing or trial in India.

W. ROBINSON.

MINUTE by His Grace the PRESIDENT, dated 31st January 1878.

The proposals on which our opinion is asked specifically, viz., suggestions 2 and 3 on page 8 of the Viceroy's Minute, are for the purpose of endeavouring, by legal enactment, to prevent the publication of newspapers containing anything which may be deemed seditious or likely to excite disaffection.

2. It seems to me, however, that it is the view we may take of the general policy on this question rather than the specific merits or demerits of particular proposals which must rule our answer.

3. The suggestion of the Minute is that articles seditious or tending to disaffection are published with impunity; that a libellous use is made of the newspaper Press for the purpose of extortion; that the law is insufficient, and that it is politic to attempt, by more stringent enactments, the task of controlling the style of articles which may be published; that it is the Vernacular and not the English Press which is the sinner; and that the measures should be so framed as to enable a distinction to be practically made with the remark that "sedition circulated in the English language appeals only to a small section of the people; it may gratify their tastes, but is not likely to mislead."

4. The Minute of the Hon. Hobhouse referred to is, I am sorry to see, not communicated to us, for his recorded opinion would have been very valuable, notwithstanding the oversight it is suggested he has made. Annexed to the Minute is a selection from various papers of 23 paragraphs collected during eighteen months.

5. Some of these elegant extracts no doubt savour of disaffection. Many in no way exceed limits of criticism by a free Press, although they may state unpalatable truths in strong language.

6. As regards the specific suggestions, it is clear that the first, viz., the deposit of a sum of money, must = 2,000 Rupees, the amount of the fine. It would lock up this capital for every trader, would thus be a serious drag on the existing tradesman, and a great discouragement of honest enterprise in a branch of trade which should be encouraged; while it would be no check upon the sedition-monger whose party should contribute it or the libeller who would simply squeeze in advance the necessary caution money by the usual process. It would, in fact, fine the innocent trader without giving any real security against repetition of offences by the evil-minded.

7. The second suggestion, viz., the incorporation of the Irish Act with certain changes into the Indian Code, does not appear to me likely to affect any material diminution of any present difficulties such as they are, unless the very material modification of substituting the Court of District Judge for superior Courts of common law be made. That modification, however, seems to me completely at variance with the spirit and frame of the Act referred to. The Act gives extensive power of seizure and confiscation to the executive, controlled by the provisions which give an aggrieved individual the special protection of having his case heard, and the action of the executive argued before and discussed by the Judges of Superior Courts in Dublin instead of by a local or Magisterial Court; the proposed modification would leave the "patriotic Editor," as he is termed in these papers, whose property has been seized, to the mercy of a single individual, the District Magistrate,—an officer appointed directly by the executive, and both removable and constantly removed thereby at pleasure without any cause assigned.

8. The suggestion to substitute the word disaffection for felony is probably not intended, as it would remove from the category of offences the inciting to murder of an individual or inciting to the injury of private property.

9. The suggestion to make a distinction between the English and the Vernacular Press seems impolitic, even if, in practice, it could be worked. It would be to have the law administered in one way to the British and in another to the Native. But the suggested arrangement would really lead to this that sedition in English might be "gratifying to the taste" but not criminal; that the same words would become criminal by being copied in the vernacular. The Native Press would be punished for publishing the very phrases which the English Editor published with impunity.

10. But is the disaffection always confined to Vernacular papers only? If it is, how happened it that some of the earliest warnings under Lord Canning's stringent temporary law had to be addressed to English Editors of English Journals? So far as regards the specific suggestions, but I dissent from the general policy, suggested in the Minute.

11. I hold the Vernacular Press to be a useful indication of the under-currents which may be running through the mass of Indian population. That if any serious spirit of disaffection or hostility is increasing amongst the people indications will float to the surface amongst the Vernacular papers as surely as the dross is thrown to the surface of molten metal. Systematic attempts to excite hostility or sedition I would prosecute, but for this the present law provides in the Penal Code, and to my mind sufficiently; and in emergency, should any such arise, there is the same power in the State to restrain the man who writes treason as the man who speaks it.

12. It is worthy of notice also that the abuse by libellous and scandalous writing against individuals, to my mind much the most dangerous consequence of an abuse of the liberty of the Press, for it not only saps the foundation of good Government and of Society, but is directly and instantly profitable to the individual publisher by the black-mail he levies, is not touched by the suggested measures; it is left to the present law at the instance of individuals to deal with that evil, and I believe that to be the true policy, not only in that case, but also in the matter of alleged disaffection. Reading the extracts which have been culled through eighteen months to form this selection, I believe them all to be of the class which Mr. Eden has well characterised as "rubbish."

13. These are my first impressions on reading the papers, and I circulate them as the freest interchange of views on such a subject is the safest mode of arriving at a just conclusion, and my colleagues, with their long experience of India, may perhaps hold different views.

BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

MINUTE by the Hon. W. HUDLESTON, dated 2nd February 1878.

What we are asked for is our opinion on the second and third proposals at page 8 of the Viceroy's Minute, viz.—

(1) Whether it be feasible to take security from any person proposing to register his name as proprietor of a Native Press;

(2) Whether it is advisable to take additional powers for suppressing the publication of seditious matter or incitement to any form of disaffection,—after the manner of the Irish Press Law which allows of suppression of publication and confiscation of plant after warning,—subject to liability to be sued for illegal seizure or search within two months.

2. I concur, however, with His Grace in considering that it is the general policy indicated by the proposals which must influence our opinion rather than the letter of the proposals themselves.

3. I think we may safely say that the evils proposed to be guarded against, viz., defamation of individuals by the public Press, in view to the extortion of black-mail, or seditious writing, to excite disaffection, do not exist in this Presidency in any such form as to require additional power for summary suppression.

4. The "security" proposal would, I think, mischievously burden legitimate and loyal enterprise without impeding seditious publication by any impediment which would not be willingly faced in the hope of earning the repute of a martyr for the public benefit, and easily borne by the aid of sympathising backers.

The safeguards against possible abuse of the "Irish Press Law" provisions are certainly far less certain and assured by the circumstances of this country than they are in the country in which the law now operates.

5. The evidence adduced to show the necessity for strengthening a law which, as regards State prosecutions, has practically remained a dead letter, does not to my mind establish the position.

6. There is an unfortunate element of truth in the quoted denunciations of our policy and its results, which it is very disagreeable to recognise, but which remains true all the same; and the nauseous compound in which it is embodied is not the real source of danger to our administration, if such there be in the publication; but the fact that the modicum of truth will be recognised by the readers, however exaggerated may be its expression, and that the galled jade will wince when the sore is touched.

7. I do not under-value the objections to this vulgar, vituperative, malicious style of writing, but I ask myself whether the proposed remedy will not do more harm than good.

What is it that would result practically from terrifying these half-educated bumptious writers into veiling their denunciation of what is felt by their compatriots as evil, in language, to our minds, of less objectionable character?

8. I believe it would either be that the evil would remain undenounced, or that the expression of its sense would convey no adequate impression to us, or that it would be couched in language, equally significant to the masses of dissatisfaction or disaffection to the administration, while our chances of obtaining conviction under the law would be greatly diminished, and the writers would have the added gratification of having defeated the Government.

9. At present, I think we may safely say that we know the worst that is said of us, if not even the worst that is thought; and I do not think any one can deny that this is an immense advantage to the administration. Can we hope to retain it under the more stringent policy that is suggested for our consideration? I certainly think we cannot.

10. Then what should we gain? External decency of expression possibly, though that even is not assured; but certainly an amount of smouldering impatience, dissatisfaction, possibly disaffection, which would only gain strength and consistency by repression of its blaze.

11. The more I think of it, the more disinclined I am to advocate any advance in the direction of repressing the freedom of the Press.

12. That the existing law is inadequate to punish defamation or sedition has not, I think, been proved.

W. HUDLESTON.

[Confidential.]

13

HOME DEPARTMENT INDIA

FORT WILLIAM, Dec. 28 1877.

To The Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras

DEAR SIR,

I AM desired to send you confidentially a copy of a Minute by His Excellency the Viceroy dated the 22nd October last, and to say that His Excellency will be glad to be favoured with the opinion of His Grace the Governor in Council on the second and third proposals therein made (page 8) as to the best mode of dealing with the Native Press.

2. An early reply, which should be sent confidentially, will oblige.

Yours faithfully,

James O'Kinealy

Offg. Secretary to the Govt. of India.

Home

Confidential

From Home Dept

G I

D/28-12-7

1/2-1-8.

Native Press

15 27

You have asked us for our opinions on the 2d & 3d proposals at page 8 of the Secretary's Minute, viz:

1/ Whether it be feasible to take security from any person proposing to estab. or to carry on business as proprietor of a native press.

2/ Whether it is advisable to take addl. powers for suppressing the publicn. of seditious matter - or in the event of any form of [illegible] apprehension - of the [illegible] the [illegible] of the Dist [illegible] [illegible] the abuse of the [illegible] of publicn. & the [illegible] of [illegible] after [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] for illegal seizure [illegible] [illegible] in their [illegible]

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in considering tht it is the
general policy indicated by
the proposals &c. wh. must
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hinder legitimate & loyal
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additions published by any
independent &c. & not calling

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the aid of the sympathising
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The safeguards of the possible
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the Administration. Can
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I [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible]

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Prop. Law Manuals

(Note) by Hon'ble Minister

2-2-78

Sent & send form of

for correction

19 35

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25 (47)

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12 It is worthy of notice also that the abuse by libellous and scandalous writing against individuals, to my mind

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49 26

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hold different views

Prof Lam[illegible]

Note by Sir [illegible]
Jan 4/[illegible]
[illegible]

A proposal to limit a[n]
useful liberty which ha[s]
been conceded – with har-
monious balancing social
& political advantage
to our native fellow sub-
jects in India for with n[early]
half a century – a liberty
which in educating the pe[ople]
in freedom of thought & in-
dependence of character
and is – Dr Edens decli[ne]
notwithstanding – highly
valued by them:– to limit
it with a distinction betw[een]
English & native news-
papers & in a manner
which can scarcely fail
in practice to become
very arbitrary is a matter
for very serious consider-
ation – And after giving
it much anxious thought
I must declare myself
unable to commit it –
the difficulties & risks
seem to me grave, for
by inconveniences & evils
are exaggerated & which
safe guards insufficiently
appreciated.

In the first place I am quite unable to endorse Mr. Eden's estimate of native public feeling in India towards their vernacular Press. On the contrary I believe that to a man, the intelligent cultivated & influential classes — while deprecating its occasional vulgarity & extravagance — value their vernacular Press & highly prize its liberty for the same reasons which actuate their European fellow subjects in the same interests & under even stronger incentives and apprehensions. I am satisfied that the hostile measures to which Mr. Eden wd. invite the Govt. & legislature wd. only tend to extend and aggravate the disloyalty & alienation they are intended to mitigate; and while I can easily

concern circumstances under which this endeavour of disapproval must, for a time, be firmly braved. I do not think that there is sufficient reason at this moment for challenging the Rajahs hostile ~~& jealous~~ feeling & distrust which wd. assuredly be evoked even in those minds which are best affected towards our Govt. & race – a policy which evades the necessity & leaves the mind that we are unfaithful to our pledges & principles and I can conceive ~~none~~ no measures more likely to conduce from this impression than those which may be aimed at what the intelligent classes have already come to look on as constitutional privileges.

Nor do I think that Mr. Eden rightly estimates the fidelity of the vernacular Press – more-

—as on all tho' it often is — as an index of na-
-tive feeling and thought.
Looked at from our
point of view — its tone
is natural, for the sym-
pathy and appreciation
of an Oriental people is
probably beyond the reach
of an alien bureau & foreign despotic Govt.:
while its criticisms — cost the
as it often is generally
precisely that is to be
looked for under the
circumstances — In con-
venient — therefore, tho'
the extravagance &
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of the Vernacular Press
may be, we possess in it
a useful barometer of
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or sycophant — Press
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ciable safety in knowing

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to which Mr Eden alludes

~~the~~ worst ~~worst~~ that some our discontented ~~subjects~~ are thinking of our measures & administration; and the ~~[illegible]~~ experience of other countries (than England) has shown that a unrestricted Press is no guarantee for the loyalty of their subjects or dissatisfied nationalities. There are disadvantages — & grave ones — in having disloyalty discontent & hostile criticism formulated & circulated amongst the public; but on the whole I think the balance of political advantage is in favor of an unmuzzled Press even in India —

Serious objections present themselves to my mind to the proposal to treat differentially the English & vernacular Press. The race-alienation — spreading & widening — daily as is serious enough as it is — and I confess

that I think that some of the low radical writing of England — e.g. of the Bradlaugh school which is read with avidity. South Indian — is doing far more material mischief than anything the vernacular Press is diffusing. A compromise of principle here would, I am sure, have a very bad effect.

The proposals relate to two grounds of apprehension in respect of the native press: (1) Gross abuse of the liberty of the Press for purposes of extortion, intimidation and the levy of blackmail in respect to private individuals, public officials, native Princes and the like: — and

(2) The disloyal tone and spread of seditious sentiment —

Facts in regard to
a small section of the
Press in America & our
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-tion appear on our judi-
-cial files, both Criminal
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sometimes somewhat
scurrilous — Press.
I shd deprecate any alte-
ration of the Press law
in this direction — even
the exaction of security
as proposed in this dis-
cussion. I have never
heard of a case in which
the responsible Editor
when "wanted" could not

31

be formed. The demand of Security wd. be felt to be a covert menace; wd. interfere exceptionally with a fair industry & not remove the men of straw in whose name the Security wd. appear. I cannot read the summary of Sir Geo. Campbell's advice recorded on page 8 of the Minutes without feeling that the very existence of a press worthy of the name, of a press such as we require in this country as an exponent of Native feeling to a Statesman. Formulate the now of Sir Geo: Campbell's recommendation as an approximation application to Sec: 124 A; for a procedure which removes what is termed the eclat of a long prosecution and place in the hands of a sensitive irritable Executive the power "to stifle newspapers" which it judges contain "mischievous & seditious libels on the Govt. & you have a gagged & mean & sycophant Press; at once contemptible & useless if not dangerous under such circumst.

the judicial tribunals can be no protection in this country – their constitution (beyond the Presidency towns) forbids confidence on the part of the natives – while on the other hand we might occasionally witness an unseemly contest between the executive & its nominees on the bench.

As regards the proposal to introduce the provisions of the Irish act, both as to their [illegible] modifications & the extension of greater stringency, I do not think that – the conditions ~~of~~ ~~sufficient~~ ~~there~~ social & administrative are sufficiently analogous to ~~secure~~ ensure equal safety & consideration. In Great Britain we have a public opinion such as is entirely wanting here; Irish courts are presided over by Irish

judges independent of Indian juries
and the Executive is more
immediately under the
Control of Parliament —
no other Indian interests are
fully represented — Every
condition ~~[illegible]~~ of that
country presents a com-
plete contrast — I write
under correction — I believe
that our Law of Sedition
is more precise stringent
and unmistakable
than that of Great Britain
I am satisfied that the
conditions of this country
present far greater features
of danger & the unreasonable
extent of the press than
the conditions of Ireland
under similar legal
restrictions. Warning &
confiscation wd. practically
mean suppression what
what is in India —

28/1 [illegible]

Profs Law Memd [illegible]

Note 4/5 Sep W. R. [illegible]

4/28 — 1 — 8 [illegible]

send proof to [illegible]

Many absent
Dr — This may
have been accidental
but Sd I think
be noticed — and
I would suggest that
a letter be written
DG of S. referring
to our proceedings
thereon - which
were necessarily laid
on these papers only

which were enclosed
for our ~~inform~~ consider
that these comprise
only ..... extracts
while it appears
that opinions of 150
were submitted to
them — whether
or not these extracts
might have ~~altered~~ modified
the opinions expressed
had we been
permitted to see

There may be
uncertain. better
and
that we may be
favoured with a
full copy — hoping
and that this
letter may be
annexed to our
former proceedings
of date .....

28/3

have altered my [illegible]
24/3 [illegible]

There are objections
but I think the appearance
[illegible]
between the [illegible] of our
action — We expect
that all the translations
of newspapers which
they do — had they
had been there it [illegible]

When the people have
was sent down for
our opinion. certain
extracts were sent
it appears from the
debate that many
others were made
opinion
by speakers — and
I have seen
copies forwarded
by the [illegible]
which contains

From Journal (Confidential) 35 (6) Public Dept

To the Secy. Govt of India
Home Dept.

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of yr letter dd Decr 28th /77 transmitting a copy of a Minute by His Exy the Viceroy, and soliciting the opinion of H. G. in C. on the 2d & 3d proposals therein made (page 8) as to the best mode of dealing with the Native Press.

2. In reply, I am directed to furnish copies of the Minutes recorded by His Grace, Sir W. Robinson, & the Hon. Mr. Huddleston; from which it will be seen that the Govt of Madras are opposed to the Rt Hon. the Viceroy's suggestions.

J.G.
12/1/78

2. The first of these proposals is, that the registration of every newspaper under the present Act (XXV of 1867) shall be accompanied by a deposit of the amount of fine (2000 Rs.) which can be awarded on conviction of disaffected writing, within the meaning of the Penal Code (Sect 124 A).

The objection to this suggestion is, that capital to the amount of 2000 Rs. wd be locked up in each case. This wd be a serious drag on the existing proprietors, and a great discouragement of honest enterprise in a branch of trade which shd be, primâ facie, encouraged; while it wd be no check upon the sedition-monger or the libeller. The backers of the first wd readily deposit the money,

and the other wd.
simply squeeze it out
of his victims in advance by the usual process.
It wd., in fact, fine the innocent
trader, without giving any real security
agst. [a repetition of] offences by [the]
other [class].

3 To the remaining suggestion, viz,
a substantive addition to the Indian
Penal Code, based on the Press Law
now in force in Ireland – His Excellency
is still more opposed.

The proposal is that the Govt. shall
shut up the objectionable newspaper,
and then let the proprietors sue the
Govt. for damages in the Court having
local jurisdiction; the advantage
to Govt. being thus stated, viz "it
"wd. be very much easier for Govt. to defend
"before the Judge of the District Ct.
"its own action in having confiscated
"the Press, than to persuade a Native
"jury that a patriotic Editor deserves
"punishment".

Now, as a District Judge is appd. by
the local executive, and both removable
& frequently removed by it, at pleasure;
the procedure proposed is by no means
on all fours with that enacted for
Ireland in like cases; where the Plff

69 26

brings his suit before a Judge of the highest court, holding office by the highest tenure known to the law, and assisted by a ~~[illegible]~~ special jury. Here in India, in civil actions, the Judge [a man of far inferior calibre to an Irish judge of the Superior Cts, and] removable, as aforesaid, at the will of the local Govt., sits alone, without assessors or jury. — His deciding that a certain act of the local Govt., put forth under grave political considerations, publicly announced, was sanctioned by the law — wd. give no satisfaction whatever to a watchful public opinion. — Better far,x to give the Govt. power to shut up a seditious newspaper, as it can shut up a seditious subject, by an act of state, for which it is responsible to its political superiors only. — This the people wd. understand; and there is a precedent for it in Act XV of 1857, which was brought in & passed on the 13th June, within a fortnight of the outbreak of the Mutiny.

x if there were no other alternative,

[illegible]

4. Having answered the specific inquiries made by Resl. of 7; Resl. [illegible] will now offer his views of the general policy on this question. He wd. premise that there is ample provision in the Penal Code for the punishment of seditious libels, and ~~even~~ of maliciously false statements with intent to cause mutiny

S. 124 A
S. 505

S. 499 to 502

offences ag^st the public peace. The defamation of individuals is also provided against.

5\. It seems to be apprehended in some quarters but certainly has not been proved, that a prosecution in such cases, when tried by a Native Jury, w^d certainly fail. Jurors are composed of natives selected for their substance & respectability: and these

Bengal newspapers — Mr Eden informs us — are not in the hands of such men: — "the vernacular press is not a representative of Native thought; has no standing or influence in Native society: no one believes it; no one trusts it: no one is led by its horrid rubbish".

6\. This being so, there seems no good reason why sedition, properly so called, sh^d not be prosecuted under the present Code, [before new & strange laws are enacted for its suppression]. As to extending the law, so as to make it reach mere vituperative criticism of the acts & intentions of the Gov^t, His Grace entirely deprecates it. We now know the worst that is thought of us, even in the most ignorant & hostile quarters. There is a direct [illegible] advantage in this to the administ^n. Measures of repression w^d deprive us of this; and the smouldering disaffection w^d gather fresh strength & consistency.

7\. Any distinction, lastly, in favour of English papers, w^d, His Grace conceives, be a fatal political error, a departure from the first principle of our Gov^t that all are equal before the law. Such a distinction, moreover, w^d be impossible to work. The annals of 1857 will show that two leading English papers were warned by the Gov^t for disaffected writing: and how c^d the same sentiments be treated as legitimate in English, but seditious when appearing next day in the Vernacular?

[illegible] 8-2-8.

[illegible] the reading of the [illegible] may [illegible] If they are seditions they are punishable under the law if not they cannot be suppressed although they may ~~paint~~ unpleasant truths in ~~[illegible]~~ strong colours

Despd. 29/3.

No. 554

37 71

Public Depr

To G. I. Home -

Sir

Referring to my marginally noted letter, communicating the Minutes recorded by His Excy. & the Members of Council on the Vernacular Press, I am directed to request that this Govt. may be furnished with the further Collection of extracts from Native newspapers, which appears to have been laid before the Govr. Genl's Legislative Council

Hy. 28/3/.

No. 275
of 16 Feby 1878

Fort St. George.
28 March 1878.

No. 23

Vernacular Press Act

for Council
deposit.

39 Press Comm. 75

I think the 2nd sentence in para 2 of draft letter, which I suggest omission of, is undeniable. because the reporter on the Vernacular Press need not know the languages — but be guided by the translators — and any well educated man with ordinary powers of discretion & judgement can then well exercise the duties of reporter —

WC 19/4

I believe that the "Reporter on the Vernacular Press" in the other Presidencies is [illegible] any —

translators. Unless the entire contents of each newspaper were translated for him, I doubt the Editor could perform the duty without aid of translators. If they are to select what to bring to notice in a translated form, then he ceases to be the responsible Reporter.

I believe the circs. of this Presidency to be essentially different in this respect from those of Bengal or Bombay, & I think it desirable that the point sh.d be impressed on the G. of I.

L.B.

Yes – and I w.d not say "the wishes of G. I. shall meet with every attention" – and I w.d stop at "outlay" ~~—~~ end of para 2, without adding the words suggested by this force –

Of course we must meet their ultimately expressed wishes – but we are angling with a "locus penitentiæ" for bait, & sh.d show our repugnance to the scheme, wh. we th.k further think will be very costly as well as unnecessary for our Presidency – L. L. – April 1879.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

Press Commissioner.

No. 543.

FROM

C. G. MASTER, Esq.,

Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George,

TO

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

HOME DEPARTMENT.

SIR,

I am directed to acknowledge your letter, No. 636, of 17th March instant, communicating a Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner, and requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to correspond direct with that officer. The Resolution itself conveys the desire of the Government of India that the Translators to Government should comply with the Commissioner's requests, official or unofficial, for full translations of articles, or for information and opinion regarding particular journals; also that they should furnish to the local press translations of any *communiqués* which he may have occasion to make.

2. In reply His Grace the Governor in Council desires me to state that there is no such functionary in Madras as a Reporter on the Vernacular Press. No single officer could be found sufficiently conversant with five distinct languages, to report singly on the newspapers published in this Presidency. The duty is divided amongst the Government Translators in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malayalim, and Hindustani. It formed no part of their original functions, and has already caused a severe strain on their petty establishments, which would prove altogether inadequate to the further additional work which the demands of the Press Commissioner on their time will create. Three Translators have at present each one munshi and one copyist; while the remaining two have one munshi and two copyists; and it will be absolutely necessary if this Presidency, to which His Grace desires to remind the Government of India Act IX of 1878 has *not* been extended, is to come within the scope of the Press Commissioner's duties, largely to raise the Translators' establishments both numerically and, with reference to the confidential character of the papers to which they will have access, in pecuniary standing. This will entail a very considerable permanent outlay.

3. In conclusion I am to express the hope that the Government of India will recognise the propriety of this Government being kept regularly informed of all correspondence between officers subordinate to them and the Press Commissioner, together with all Commissioner's *communiqués*.

4. A minute by His Grace the Governor accompanies this letter.

5. A list of the papers published in the Presidency, together with specimen copies, was submitted to the Government of India (Home) on the 8th March 1878, No. 407, Public Department.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

FORT ST. GEORGE,
9th April 1879.

Acting Chief Secretary.

Minute by His Grace the Governor, dated 3rd April 1879.

The letter of 17th March shows that there is an impression that we have an officer as "Reporter on Vernacular Journals."

It should be pointed out that there is no such officer. here

That the abstract reports on Vernacular Press received from the Translators are regularly submitted to Members of Council, read, and if anything appears to deserve notice a full translation of any sentence or paragraph is obtained, or such other inquiries as may be needed made.

It will therefore be necessary to give effect to Government of India wishes that some officer be appointed as Reporter on the Vernacular Press, and as the strength of the Translators' offices in this Presidency remains as originally established, when Press examination formed no part of their duty, and their ordinary duties have been gradually largely increased until their strength is fully employed, it will be necessary for the purpose of giving the full translations instead of abstract reports of articles that these offices be at once strengthened; and it will be apparently necessary, having regard to the highly confidential nature of duties which will be entrusted to them, to add to the

Hindustani,
Malayalim,
Canarese,
Telugu,
Tamil

Translators at least one well-paid munshi and a writer; or, which may probably be a better arrangement, to appoint a Reporter on the Vernacular Press, with a Translator at Rupees 150 rising to Rupees 250, and necessary copyists.

This seems the best course, as the contemplated *communiqués* will need immediate translation, or their value will be destroyed, and the regular Translators' offices are frequently under pressure to complete translations of Acts, Government of India Bills, &c., for insertion in Gazette, and other documents which will not admit of delay. This must be pointed out to Government of India, and their sanction asked in the reply to the provision of the necessary funds.

That being arranged there would be no reason why Government of India should not receive regularly and promptly the full translations they need, and their communications be promptly and regularly issued.

But it seems to me a very doubtful policy to add to the weight and importance of a non-uninfluential press, by making them in the eyes of the people the organs and the mouthpiece of Government.

The effect of addressing *communiqués* to the various papers, of inspiring their articles, will inevitably be to give to the whole paper in the eyes of the people an authority and a weight which these journals do not now possess, and this will apply to all their articles.

The people will not discriminate between the inspired and the uninspired paragraphs.

Seditious effusions of an overheated brain will be considered as *ballons d'essai* put forth for some deep and hidden reason by the Sirkar.

I believe the true policy of a Government in connection with the Press to be to treat all alike, to repress sedition with a firm hand by the aid of the laws, to furnish all alike with facts of interest to the people, leaving the Press to utilize them as they like, but to stand aloof from anything like inspiration, and if necessary that explanation of any proposed Government measure be made, to do it openly and avowedly as a Government statement officially signed.

With these views I think we ought to represent to Government of India the slight importance of the vernacular journals of the Presidency in which the Press Act is not in force, and suggest whether it be desirable to do more than place on the Editor's table information it is desired journals should have for use. Apparently also it is intended that *communiqués* should pass direct to the journals without the

knowledge, or communication through, the Local Government. Such a course must, ~~I think~~, materially lessen the influence of the Local Government with the people.

Twice already has this Government been placed in a false position by the communication unknown to them of matters affecting the administration.

Once when the Secretary of State's sanction to ~~an appointment~~ [a proposed arrangement] in the Educational Department was published in the newspapers, without being advised to this Government; and again when papers which were being discussed in confidence between this Government and Government of India preparatory to submission to the Secretary of State for decision were communicated to the Press, with liberty to use but not to quote, without the knowledge of this Government.

I think our answer should embody some remarks on these points, and should state the circulation and names of the vernacular journals, ~~otherwise the non-rendering of such facts will~~ be used as a basis for the measures proposed.

BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.

Exd. J. Wright.

Regr. No.

HOME 1879 DEPT.

[ ]

From the Government of
Fort St. George.

Dated 5th April 1879.	*No.*
Issued	*Enclosures*
Recd.	*Spare copies*

D. No.	Progs.
E. No. 543.	No.

Press Commissioner.—Replying to letter from the Government of India communicating a Resolution respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner, and requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular Journals in Madras may be allowed to correspond direct with that officer.

The letter of 17th March

shews that there is no individual

that we have no officer as "Reporter

&c on vernacular journals" —

It should be pointed out that there is

no such officer — again

that the extracts from vernacular

Press received from the translator

are regularly submitted to a

member of Council — read & if

anything appears to deserve notice

any translation of sentence or

or full translation of article or

leader paragraph is obtained — or

such other enquiries as may be

needed made —

It will therefore be necessary

to give effect to Govt of I order that

some officer be appointed a

Comm'g

reporter on the Press — and as

the translator offices

the strength of the

in this Presidency ~~occasion~~ as originally

originally established — when the Press

formed no part of their duty and

their ordinary duties have been

gradually largely increased until

their ~~time~~ strength is fully employed —

it will be necessary for the

purpose of giving the full translation written

of abstract reports of articles that

these offices be at once strengthened

and it will be apparently necessary

having regard to the very confidential

nature of duties which will be

entrusted to them to add to the

Hindustani

Malayalam

Canarese

Telugu

Tamil

translator of that one
will need. Meanwhile —
a writer —
Or, which may probably
be a better arrangement,
to appoint a Reporter or
to Ho. Peops. with a translator
at R250 — and
at R150 salary to
Company subjects —
This seems the best course, as
the contemplated communique
will need immediate translation
& their value will be destroyed
was the regular translator of them
as frequently under purpose
complete translation of acts
Gov. of S. Coss or proclamation in
Gazette or other documents
which will not admit of delay

this would be provided out of Gen.l

Land thus sanction either

in the reply to the provision of

the necessary funds —

That being arranged, there would

be no examining Board of Science

but uniform regularity & promptitude

such constitution may secure — & then

communications be promptly —

regularly spread —

but it seems to me a [illegible]

very doubtful policy to add to

the weight & importance of a

now uninfluential press — by

making them in the eyes of the

people the organ — & the mouthpiece

of Govt —

The [illegible]

[illegible]

~~[illegible]~~

The effect of nullifying [illegible]
& the accompanying papers - of inferring
these articles - will inevitably be to
give to the whole paper in the eyes of
the people - an authority [illegible]
weight which their [illegible] do not
[illegible] possess - and this will apply
to all their articles -
the people will not discriminate
between the inferior & the convincing
paragraphs -
Seditious opinions of an
unknown Junior will be
considered as tedious disquisi-
tions [illegible] deep & learned
Just & lasting principles [illegible] arguments
given by the Father [illegible]

I believe the true policy of
a government in connexion with
the Press &c is to treat all
addition
alike — to express with in favour
hand of the aid of the law —
to punish all alike with just
leaving
of interest to the people —
the Press to utilise them as they
like — but to stand aloof from
any thing like insinuation — and
if necessary that explanation
of any proposals or measure
be made to do it openly &
honestly — as a just statement
officially signed —
with these views I think we

ought to represent the part of [illegible] the
the slight importance of the
American government, in which they act is not in force
Presidency — and in degree which
it be desirable [illegible] than
Prussia? the Editor take
information it is almost
governments will have, for un-
apparently also it is in the like
that communique [illegible]
cried to the formal writing the
knowledge to communication
through the local Govt. but
even mind — I think is certainly
upon the influence of the local Govt. with
the people —
Twice already [illegible] that Govt.

been placed in a [illegible] position

by the communication [illegible]

[illegible] matter affecting the

[illegible] [illegible] —

[illegible] [illegible] of the

[illegible] the Secretary of the [illegible]

Senate to [illegible] in the

[illegible] was published in the

Newspapers — without [illegible]

to this [illegible] — and again when

[illegible] — papers which were [illegible]

[illegible] in [illegible] between

this [illegible] or [illegible] of [illegible]

to submission to the [illegible]

[illegible] were communicated

to the [illegible] [illegible]

with [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

to this [illegible] —

[illegible]

[illegible]

46   E.J.   128

I think we ensure that Ludhy[?] some remarks on these points — and to state the circulation and names of the vernacular journals of which the amendment of such facts will be used as a basis for the measures proposed.

B.C. 3/4

Bucking[?] Ham[?] Chowdr[?]

I entirely adopt H.G's proposals.

E.J.

5/4

[illegible]

93

48 Public DEPARTMENT.

No. 484

From The Govt. of India
Foreign Dept.
D/ 7 Feb 1893

FOR ORDERS.

I would avoid to the utmost any connection with a dept. which must I fear bring trouble eventually – but it is essential for the administration

I quite concur
C. R. P.

Generally we suffer very freq[?] [illegible] not applied to Indians, & in any case we [illegible] take an [illegible] [illegible] – [illegible]

of the Presidency
that this Govt be
aware of all
communications
by its officers to the
Prest Comr & of all
by Prest Comr to his
officers —
I think also
this Govt shd be
informed of all
communiqués
Oct 29

FOR ORDERS.

10. No. 636. 10

From

C. Bernard Esquire, C.S.I.,
Offg Secy to the Govt of India.

To

The Secretary to the Government
of Madras.

Fort William, the 17th March 1879.

Home Deptt.
Public

Sir,

I am directed to invite attention to para: 4 of the annexed Resolution of the Government of India in the Foreign Department, respecting the duties of the Press Commissioner towards the Vernacular Press. In order that the Press Commissioner may be able to fulfil these duties, it is desirable that he should be allowed to communicate direct with the Officer who reports on vernacular journals for the Government of Madras. And I am to request that, if His Grace the Governor in Council sees no

objection

objection the Reporter on vernacular journals in Madras may be allowed to communicate direct with the Press Commissioner to the Government of India, and may be permitted to comply with that Officer's requests for information, so far as may be conveniently possible.

2. I am at the same time to enclose, for submission to His Grace the Governor in Council, a letter from the Press Commissioner in which he asks to be allowed to obtain from the Reporter on vernacular papers a memorandum concerning every vernacular journal published in the Madras Presidency, and also a short quarterly memorandum on the progress of each such journal hereafter. I am to say that the Government of India will be glad if in this matter the requirements of the Press Commissioner can be met.

3. The Press Commissioner has been authorized to address you in future direct,

51 99

in case he may, in the discharge of his duties under the Resolution of the 7th February last, have occasion to submit any representation or remarks for the consideration of His Grace the Governor in Council.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your most obedient servant
C. Beadon(?)
Offg Secy to the Govt. of India

Public / 1879 / Despatch
(Chief Commissioner) / from

The Government of India
Home Department

Dated 7
Recd. 24 } March / 79

No. 636. Encl 2.

No. 638

Requesting that the Reporter on Vernacular journals may be allowed to communicate direct with the Press Commissioner to the Govt of India, and may be permitted to comply with that officer's request for information.

Forwarder.

No. 479P.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL.

RESOLUTION.

FORT WILLIAM, *the 7th February* 1879.

READ—

Despatch No. 124, dated 18th March 1878, to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, proposing the appointment of Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., as the recognised medium between the Vernacular Press and the Government.

Despatch No. 40, dated 15th August 1878, from the Secretary of State, sanctioning the arrangement.

Notification, No. 965G., dated 9th April 1878, appointing Mr. Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E., to be Press Commissioner with the Government of India.

DURING the past two years a part of Mr. Roper Lethbridge's time has been occupied, as a tentative measure, in communicating information to, and answering references from, the Anglo-Indian Press. Gradually some of the Anglo-Vernacular newspapers and a portion of the Vernacular Press has come within his operations. Mr. Lethbridge has had the assistance of the establishment marginally noted, which was, while the Press arrangements were still in the experimental stage, lent to him from the Private Secretary's Office.

	Rs.	
1 Head Clerk on	150	a month.
1 Clerk	100	"
1 "	60	"
1 "	40	"
1 "	30	"
1 Duftree.		
4 Chuprassees.		
2 Night messengers.		
1 Sweeper.		

2. It is now desirable that the Press Commissioner should be enabled to undertake effectively what should be the most important part of his duty, namely, the establishment and conduct of relations between Government and the Vernacular Press. The Vernacular Press Act (IX of 1878) empowers the Local Government to take repressive measures against Vernacular journals which may transgress certain very wide canons of loyal conduct and of political criticism. The orders of the Government of India, approved by Her Majesty's Secretary of State, required that no repressive measures shall be instituted under Act IX of 1878, without the previous sanction of the Government of India in each case. It was observed on the Government of India despatch, cited in the preamble to this Resolution, that, "in order that the Government of India should be able to enforce the Act with judgment, and with a due regard for those rights of free thought and legitimate discussion which Her Majesty's Government have always jealously guarded, it is necessary for us to provide means whereby we may be kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press of India, with a view to exercising the necessary control, not only over the journals which come under the operation of the present Act, but also over the action of the local authorities through whom its provisions will be carried out. To judge accurately of any particular case that may be brought before us, we must have means of learning with certainty the character, status, and general behaviour of each vernacular newspaper." It will be a part of the business of the Press Commissioner to keep the Government of India informed of the character and tendencies of each important vernacular journal, and to be the responsible adviser of the Government in its dealings with the Press under the new law. In the exercise of these functions the Press Commissioner will lay before the Government full (instead of abstract) translations of important articles which may possibly appear to infringe Act IX of 1878, or which may contain important criticism or suggestions, on the measures or proposals of the Government or its officers.

3. But it may be confidently hoped that active measures of repression towards the Native Press will be extremely rare. The Governor-General in Council is glad to acknowledge that the tone and attitude of the vernacular journals has of late, and subject to a very few exceptions, been loyal to the British Government, and that loyalty has been very marked in articles concerning the present political complications on the North-West Frontier of India. That being so, the Governor-General in Council desires to take every legitimate means for helping the Vernacular Press of India to inform itself upon the measures and proposals of the Government, and upon the progress of such political events as can properly be made public. In the performance of this part of his functions, the Press Commissioner will be the "recognized medium between the Vernacular Press and the Government, whose duty it will be to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the legitimate wants and aspirations of the Press, to receive and reply to references or complaints from Editors, and, in a word, to act as the referee of the Press in its communications with the Government."

4. In order that the Press Commissioner may properly discharge his duties, which have been described above, it will be necessary that he should be in close relations with the Government Translators, under the Madras, Bombay, Bengal, Punjab, and North-Western Provinces and Oudh Governments, who now prepare the weekly abstracts of vernacular newspapers. The Governors in Council of Madras and Bombay and the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and the Punjab will therefore be asked to permit the establishment of such relations between the Press Commissioner and their Translators; and to authorize those officers to comply as far as may be possible with Mr. Roper Lethbridge's official or unofficial requests for full translations of articles, or for information and opinion regarding particular journals.

5. But it will often be necessary for the Press Commissioner to communicate direct with the Editors of vernacular journals. It may at times be desirable to present full translations of articles at once for the information of the Governor-General in Council. And the Press Commissioner may often have occasion to furnish in vernacular languages information regarding the measures of Government, or political events. Unless information is given in the vernacular, it can hardly be expected always to reach the public for whom it may be intended. More especially will it be necessary to make vernacular *communiqués* on questions or measures which are still under deliberation, and regarding which it would be desirable to evoke free and intelligent criticism from the Native public.

6. The Press Commissioner must therefore be furnished with a small staff of well educated Native Translators. For the present it will suffice if the following establishment, in addition to the clerks and servants shown at paragraph 1 of this Resolution, be sanctioned for the Press Commissioner's Office, namely—

		Rs. p. m.
1 Précis writer on Rupees 250		250
1 Translator on Rupees 250		250
2 Translators on Rupees 150, rising by annual increments of Rupees 10 to Rupees 250	mean cost	450
2 Moonshees on Rupees 50, rising by Rupees 5 a year to Rupees 70...	„	130
Total ...		1,080
Add for English Office and servants as above ...		445
Add Office rent— Simla Rupees 750, Calcutta Rupees 100, say for whole year		100
Office contingencies		50
TOTAL ...		1,675

This establishment is sanctioned with effect from the 18th September 1878; but the full strength will be entertained gradually only, as the business of the Press Commissioner increases, and the circle of his operations widens.

7. It will be necessary for the Press Commissioner to subscribe for a ımber of the English and Vernacular papers published in India. This is sential to enable him to carry out the duties of his office. The sum of Rupees 500 a year is sanctioned for this purpose.

8. The Press Commissioner will continue, as heretofore, subordinate to e Foreign Department. As the supervision of the Vernacular Press is an portant part of the duty of the Home Department, the Press Commissioner ould communicate officially with, and receive orders from, the Home Department on all matters not falling within the cognizance of the Foreign Department, which are connected with the Vernacular Press. He will be authorized attend upon and communicate directly with all officers and departments for the rpose of gaining information to be imparted to the Press.

No. 484P.

Copy of the foregoing Resolution forwarded to the Home Department for formation.

By Order of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General,

Foreign Department;
Political,
Fort William,
he 7th February 1879.

Secy. to Govt. of India, Foreign Dept.

1879

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL.

RESOLUTION.

Dated 7th February 1879.

Nos. 479P.-485P.

Prescribing the duties of the Press Commissioner with the Government of India, and the Office establishment to be entertained by him.

(Copy to Governments of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and Punjab; also to Home and Financial Departments and to Press Commissioner.)

F. D. Press, Calcutta,—No. 186—20-2-79.—126.

Ex Pol. Ex 638/79

No. 62

From

The Officiating Press Commissioner
with the Government of India

To

The Chief Secretary to the Government of
Madras

Dated Calcutta the 1st March 187[illegible]

Sir,

With reference to the 4th para of the Resolution of the Govt. of India in the Foreign Department, No. 479 P. dated the 7th February 187[illegible] on the subject of the duties of the Press Commissioner with the Government of India, I have the honor to request that, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor in Council, I may be furnished with certain information from the several Translators to the Government of Madras.

2. As the Govt. of India desires to be kept fully and continuously informed of the tone and character of the utterances of the whole Vernacular Press of India, and to have the means of learning with certainty, the character, status and general behaviour of each vernacular newspaper, they have laid it down as a part of my business to keep them informed of the character and tendencies of each important vernacular journal.

3.

3. I would wish, therefore, to be favoured with a statement from the Translators with the Madras Government, showing the names of all the vernacular newspapers, published in the Madras Presidency and the names of the Editor, publisher and proprietor. — At the same time, I would ask to be favoured with a report of the character, status, general behaviour and tendencies of each vernacular newspaper, with any remarks that may be considered necessary to explain to me fully, the opinion entertained of each journal. For facility of reference, it would be well that this statement should be subdivided into the "more important" and "less important" journals.

4. If this report can be made at full length, in the first instance, it would be calculated to give the Government of India a good idea of the general tone of each vernacular journal during the present past; and, for the future, I would ask to be furnished with a quarterly report, commencing from the 1st April (i.e. the first report to be due on 1st July), containing remarks on the conduct and general behaviour of each vernacular journal during the preceding quarter of the year. It would not be necessary that these quarterly reports should be made at any considerable length, though, on the other hand, it would be desirable

desirable that they should not omit to notice any feature or article of importance.

5. As the sum sanctioned for my office for subscription to the Vernacular newspapers throughout India does not admit of my taking in all that are published, I should be glad if I could be informed which are considered the most important of those that are issued in the Madras Presidency, and again which 10 are regarded as the next in importance, and, if those in each set could be arranged in order. This would enable me to check the list of the journals for which at present I subscribe.

6. With the small staff of translators attached to my office, I am in a position to watch a certain number of the vernacular journals throughout India. I propose to arrange to subscribe for a certain number of the most important journals received by the Translators to the Madras Government, according to the lists with which I may be furnished as asked for in the foregoing paragraph.

7. To enable me to become thoroughly acquainted with the legitimate wants and aspirations of the Press, as contemplated towards the end of para. 3 of the Foreign Department Resolution and to advise the Government of India thereon, I should be glad to receive from the Translators to the

Madras

Madras Government any remarks which they may think fit to make on this head in their quarterly returns.

8. If it could be managed, it would, I think, be of interest to the Government of India to be informed, among what class of persons each vernacular paper circulates; so that its influence, respectability and status might be thereby gauged to some extent. And, if any vernacular paper exhibits an unreasonable or persistent opposition to the measures of Government, I should be glad to be informed whether there are any private reasons, which affect the attitude of the Editor or Proprietor.

9. In conclusion, I would express my obligations to His Excellency the Governor in Council if he would be so good as to direct the Translator to the Madras Government, to furnish me with as complete a report as may be possible, after the manner above indicated.

I have the honor to be,
Sir
Your most obedient Servant,
C. E. Buckland
Offg Press Commissioner
with the Govt. of India

In Pub. No. 833/91

bill 2 Scales   56   105   Public Dept 93

Recd 10/5/79

Read the following letter
from G of I. Home dept

(Here enter No 636 dt 17th March/79)

Order gift pr 1879 No 542

Resolved that the following letter
be despatched – in reply.

No 543.

Sir, I am directed to acknowledge your
letter No 636 of 17th March ult°,
communicating a Resolution of the
G. I. in the Foreign Dept, respecting
the duties of the Press Commr, &
requesting that the Reporter on Vernac-
-ular journals in Madras may be
allowed to correspond direct with
that officer. The Resolution itself
conveys the desire of the G. I. that
the Translators to Govt shd comply
with the Commrs requests, official or
unofficial, for full translations of
articles, or for information & opinion
regarding particular journals; also
~~that~~ they shd ~~[illegible]~~ furnish
to the local press translations of any
communiqués which he may have
occasion to make.

2. In reply this para. be [illegible]
desires me to state that there is
no such functionary in Madras
as a Reporter on the Vernacular
Press. No single officer could be
found sufficiently conversant
with five distinct languages, to
report singly on the newspapers ~~[illegible]~~
published in this Presy. The duty is
divided amongst the Govt. translators
in Tamil, Telugu, Canarese,
Malayalam & Hindustani. It
formed no part of their original
functions, and has clearly caused
a severe strain on the existing establts.
~~[illegible]~~, which
are now altogether inadequate to the further
addl. work which the demands of the
Press Commr. on their time will create.
~~[illegible]~~ translators have at present, each one
Munshi and one copyist; while the
remaining two have one Munshi and
two copyists; and it will be absolutely
necessary if this Press, to which, ~~[illegible]~~ this para does
remind, [illegible] ~~you~~, Act IX of '78, has not
been extended, is to come within
the scope of the Press Commrs duties —

largely to ~~increase~~ raise the translators' estab. both numerically and, with reference to the confidential character of the papers that they will have access, in pecuniary standing. This will entail a very considerable permanent [illegible]

8. In conclusion I am to express the hope that the G. of I. will recognise the propriety of this Govt. being kept regularly informed of all correspondence between officers subordinate to them & the Press Commr., together with all ~~such~~ Commr's communiqués.

D. F. C.
26/3/9.

4. A Memo by [illegible] the Government [illegible] the Cabinet [illegible]

5. A list of the papers [illegible] in the Press [illegible] was submitted to [illegible] on the 24 March [illegible]

Minute to [illegible]

9/4

8/4/9

Urgent

Pub Dept

fo 542-43
Dated 9-4-79

Council

1304/RII

10993/79

1062/RI

12538/79

1226/RI/79

1437/RI/79

25 10/88

11 RI
10 2010

29/11 2010

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